



N. Ireland office rapped over jobs

"The latest depressing Northern unemployment figures (50,000) are further evidence of the collapse of private enterprise undertakings in the face of monopoly takeovers and the downward trend cannot be arrested until the State steps in to take control of all investment and production", stated Belfast Republican Clubs Executive chairman Brian Brennan at a conference of Republican Club's councillors and election workers in Newry, Sunday, April 25.

Mr. Brennan further attacked "the half baked suggestions coming from some political quarters that self-help and co-operative industries could seriously tackle the problem as nothing more than a desperate scramble by local businessmen to save their own interests and in so way maintain the status quo in an area where the private enterprise has collapsed. He stated the people of Northern Ireland deserve creative industries to improve their money the State will have to dramatically intervene to stop the slide into the abyss.

"There is no reason," he continued, "why the Industrial and Commercial Departments of the Government North and South should not get together now with the Trade Union Movement and agree to the public development of all our resources in the interests of the people.

The development of Ireland's vast mineral wealth and oil resources offers vital opportunities which would tackle, at source, the unemployment problem.

"Our oil and mineral potential can create billion pound industries if we develop a manufacturing sector concentrated on metal and petroleum products.

The run-down in Northern engineering industries could be offset by the establishment of publicly

owned industries associated with light engineering, metal products and petrochemicals based on the planned zinc smelter in the South, he said.

"Instead the Northern Ireland Office have failed to win the contracts for the steel oil platform jackets and rigs for the Kinsale Field (Cork) while a question mark hangs over the future of Harland and Wolff.

"With more than a remote prospect of a natural gas field on the North Antrim coast the development and exploitation of our natural resources in the fight against unemployment, is clearly a 32 County issue.

"Republicans believe that the recognition of the Economic Dimension in Ireland is the key to solving the economic crisis", he said.

Sinn Fein Councillor at European conference

Councillor Donal Mac Raghnaill who is to go to Strasbourg to attend the Conference of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe in Strasbourg is the first member of Sinn Féin to represent his country at an international conference since 1922.

He hopes to get an opportunity to tell the conference of the disillusionment with Europe now felt by many people in this country who were convinced by pro-Europe campaigners that integration would guarantee industrial and regional development.

Before leaving for Strasbourg Councillor Mac Raghnaill told the UNITED IRISHMAN that while he anticipated serious procedural obstacles he would endeavour to have a resolution passed at the Conference which would call on the EEC to live up to the promises of Regional Development made before we joined the EEC.

"It is a declared objective of the European Community that regional development should be based on the development of local natural

resources and this is a sensible measure and one which we support. But the EEC has failed to do this. North West Coast is the greatest living proof that no action has been taken to achieve this objective. If the EEC was serious about regional development steps would have been taken by now to conserve and develop the fishing resources off the West Coast, said Cllr. Mac Raghnaill.

This has not been done and, in fact, this resource is being depleted through uncontrolled exploitation "not by the people of the region but by fishing fleets from countries whose economies are very healthy and this process of plunder will increase as the limited protective measures in existence have to be removed to comply with EEC regulations."

"Is it any wonder that the people in this region are looking upon the idea of a United Europe as one cynically utilised not to help them but to exploit them", he asked.

Employees to defend State sector

The Committee for the Development and Expansion of the Public Sector is as its Chairman John McAdam said in Dublin on Wednesday, April 14, entirely self-explanatory. "We are all employees in the Civil Service, State Companies and local authorities who resent the slanderous remarks made by Finance Minister Richie Ryan last October, when he stated that every single worker in the Public Sector is being carried by five private sector workers", he said.

The press conference was called not only to launch this new committee but also a pamphlet which will certainly be a considerable source of public discussion over the next few months. The pamphlet entitled "Public Servants for the Public Sector" is on sale at 30p and is available from the Secretary, CDEPS, 1, Florentine Street, Dublin, 8. Tel. 756108. It is understood that only a limited number of copies have been printed.



● Richie Ryan's remarks resented.

The unnamed authors of this pamphlet in a thorough analysis of the economy point out that the Private Sector is supported by the Public sector to the tune of £200 million per year. A statement which is bound to be queried by Business and Finance.

They state also that State companies are far from being unproductive and claim that the ESB and Bord na Mona contributed over £28 million to the Private Sector last year. Again a claim which is sure to raise eyebrows in Business and Finance.

The booklet quoting Dr. Brendan Walsh states that the frightening total of 342,000 new jobs will be needed by 1976 if we are to have full employment by that year. Where should investment be? In the Public Sector is the answer, for a variety of reasons. It is here that the authors are at their most contentious as they outline how this expansion is to be financed, which demands a virtual revolution in banking and fiscal policy.

No matter, this booklet is a must for every trade unionist and public servant. The CDEPS is to be congratulated.

B.A. attack cemetery

The Republican Easter Commemoration, Belfast was marred by attacks on the marchers both by stone throwing hooligans and the British Army.

Pictured on the left is the baton charge which clashed not only with a handful of missile throwers but with the rear of the march. Naturally great play was made by the media of arrests.

Pages 8 and 9 report some of the thirty commemorations held in Ireland, Britain and the USA.



A Chara,

As a regular reader of the UNITED IRISHMAN for the past 10 years who attended the Michael Davitt Memorial Meeting in Liberty Hall, I feel I must comment on your report of the meeting.

Rather than being poorly attended there was a large audience at the Davitt meeting as anyone who was present could tell your reporter. Such an inaccurate report is regrettable in view of the U.I.'s reputation for excellent journalism.

You quoted the meeting's chairman, Pól O'Maolagáin, as saying that it was largely through the Land League's activity that a landless proletariat were transformed into a petty-bourgeois class, "a progressive step in its time".

The reader would assume this to be Mr. O'Maolagáin's comment. In fact, Mr. O'Maolagáin regretted that was the reality. Michael Davitt also regretted this result as he saw Land Nationalisation as the final solution to the Land Question. Davitt's 1882 policy is still considered progressive in 1976.

Unfortunately, your brief report did not find space to show Davitt's relevance to workers and farmers' present-day problems.

Davitt called for State ownership of minerals. His work in the Labour Movement played a large part in the formation of the Irish Trade Union Congress. He would have regretted that it was necessary 100 years later for Senator Michael Mullen (who incidentally attended despite having severe flu) to have to urge that more determined use be made of Ireland's national resources to achieve full employment (reported in Irish Times, 27.3.76).

Another speaker, Francis Devine, gave an excellent speech on Davitt's 24 years of activity in the Labour Movement in Ireland and England, not to mention his participation in land struggles in Scotland and Wales.

Davitt saw that the key political issue in Ireland was the Land Struggle which alone had the power to mobilise the masses. The Land War of 1879-82 was destroyed as a political force even though the Land Nationalisation was not achieved.

Davitt's present-day relevance was recognised by Government Minister Mr. Ryan, who tried to mislead his audience at the inaugural public meeting of the Davitt Memorial Committee as to Davitt's real beliefs.

Mr. Ryan's attempt to rewrite history should be countered by a full page U.I. article on Davitt. Since this was not done in the April issue, I am sure it will be feasible later in the 1976 Centenary year.

Best wishes,

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Interest in I.D.Y.M.

Interest continues to develop in the new Irish Democratic Youth Movement (I.D.Y.M.), which it is planned to launch at a public conference in Dublin next September.

Organisational committees have already been established in Dublin, Cork and Newry. Meetings to elect further local committees are planned for Belfast, Derry City, North Armagh and Limerick within the next month. The function of the local organisational committees will be to form local branches, recruit members and prepare programmes of work for their own particular areas.

While the Irish Democratic Youth Movement will be primarily a political organisation, with political objectives, culture and recreation also feature prominently in its area of activity. One of the aims of the I.D.Y.M. will be "the promotion among

64 Rathgar Road, Dublin 6.

young people of the Irish language and culture, not in a chauvinistic manner, but as a contribution to a greater world wide working class culture".

Cultural exchanges, music lessons, outings, hostelling and sports are just some of the recreational activities likely to be undertaken by the new movement.



The I.D.Y.M. will be independent in its decision making but will be committed through its constitution to supporting and working with Sinn Féin in the building of socialism in Ireland.

Anyone who is interested in joining the Irish Democratic Youth Movement, or who would like more information should write to the Secretary, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

N.U.U. REPUBLICAN CLUB

Result of Easter Draw

1st Prize—Jim Gillon, Dundee, Scotland.

2nd Prize—Brian Cande, Limerick, Co.

3rd Prize—Hazel Liken, Portrush, Co. Antrim.

The following is the Sinn Féin Officer Board approved by the first full meeting of the Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle held at Gardiner Place, Dublin, March 6, 1976.

Vice-Presidents: Malachy McGurran, Lurgan, CIL. Joe Sherlock, Mallow.

Secretaries: Malrín de Burca, Dublin and Tony Heffernan, Dublin.

Treasurers: Donnacatha Mac Raghnaill, Drogheda and Malachy McGurran, Lurgan.

Director of Organising: Sean Garland, Dublin.

Director of International Affairs: Sean O'Clonnoith, Dublin.

Director of Industrial and Economic Affairs: Eamonn Smullen, Dublin.

Director of Education: Des O'Hagan, Belfast.

Director of Publicity: Sean O'Clonnoith, Dublin.

Director of Youth: Tony Heffernan, Dublin.

National Election Agent: Denis Foley, Tralee.

The following appointments were also made:

Financial Organiser: Breasal O'Caollai, Dublin.

Spokesperson on Health: Dr. John McManus, Bray.

Spokesperson on Justice: Women and Housing: Mairín de Burca, Dublin.

The President of Sinn Féin, Tomás Mac Giolla, was elected by the delegates attending the 70th Ard Fheis in Dublin during January.

Cabhair

Irish Republican Prisoners Defence & Aid Fund 30 Gardiner Place Dublin 1

Funds urgently needed for ●Republican Prisoners Welfare
●Aid for Dependents ●Legal Aid ●Noel Jenkinson
Strasbourg Appeal

All Contributions Acknowledged

CABHAIR RESULTS

1st Prize: Rag Trade drawn by G. Hackett

48 Stanhope Drive, Belfast.

2nd Prize: Red Rum drawn by H. Hjorr

man, Frodmgsgratan 25, S-72721 Uppsala, Sweden.

3rd Prize: Eyecatcher drawn by D. Murray

13 Upper Sean McDermott St., Dublin

The Cabhair Committee wish to thank all sellers and buyers of tickets for their help

OBITUARIES

The Republican Movement in Ireland at the Coiste Seasta of the Irish Republic Clubs, USA & Canada express deep sympathy to the friends and relatives of Liam Catter, late of Tralee, who was shot dead New York April 12 last.

Tomás Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Féin and Malachy McGurran, Chairman of the County Executive of Republican Clubs, attended the funeral.

Limerick Comhairle Ceannaithe, Sinn Féin express their deepest sympathy to the relatives and friends of Thomas Fennell, member of Sean Sabhai Cumann, Limerick who died April 10, aged 38 years.

Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle express their deepest sympathy to the friends and relatives of the late James Mitchell, father of Tom Mitchell, former Mid-Ulster M.P.

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Plough boys punch ahead

Once again the Plough Boxing Team has upset the boxing world. This team of relatively inexperienced boxers, under their trainer, Tony Patterson, has been formed for less than a year but has gone from strength to strength and victory to victory. This time they got two winners in the important Mid Ulster Championships. Edward Rooney and Liam Quinn, and strong

performances were put up by the rest of the squad, John Rooney, Jim Campbell, Ray Thompson, Tony Moan and Gary Fegan. At present the Boxing Club is organising a Tournament for the under 16's and have asked us to thank the Great Craven, Fearon Robinson, Martin McAlinden and Connaught Republicans Clubs for their help.

B'ham Easter concert



Dominic Behan entertaining the audience in Birmingham.

Over 200 people attended the Easter Commemoration concert rally organised by Clann na hÉireann in Birmingham on Easter Sunday.

The rally was opened by Clann Organiser, Adrian Gallagher who explained the reasons and importance of holding the commemoration.

Dominic Behan, who compered the

concert, mixed a fine rendering of political songs with an explanation of the differences between the Republican Movement and those who lay false claims to the name.

A variety of musicians and singers from London and Birmingham entertained the audience, and the Proclamation was read by Con O'Connell of Birmingham Clann.

Rights and luxuries

Ciaran Mac Fadden Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle and Munster executive member addressing a well attended Easter commemoration at Inagh, Co. Clare called for an end to 'the Government policy of selling out our natural resources to foreign companies'.

He condemned the cut-backs in education and health services which were placing these important basic rights in the category of luxuries.

"Our nation", he said "is becoming retarded when it can justify the purchase of ten aeroplanes while calling a stop to further expenditure on the Health Service".

Mr. Mac Fadden said they honoured Captain Murt Moloney who died in Inagh for the beliefs for which present day Republicans stood.

He concluded by asking the people to reject those who had sullied the name of Republicanism by their sectarian bombing campaign in the North.

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SECULAR

It is seldom that Republicans have the opportunity to congratulate any member of the Coalition government particularly given the Right wing bias built into its Cabinet.

Dr. Fitzgerald's recent speech however calling clearly for a break between the Southern State and the moral teaching of the Roman Catholic Church is one which will be welcomed by all who believe in a secular society. It is a lighthouse beacon shining in Cooney controlled darkness.

The reasonable questions which are certain to be put not only in Skibbereen but also in Cullybackey are 'to what extent is Dr. Fitzgerald trying to offset the crudities of his colleague, the Minister for Justice, and how far has he been motivated by the column inches in the media which Dr. O'Brien won in his recent tilt with the hierarchy.

The sophisticated Dublin voter may well be of the opinion that the liberal Fitzgerald has his urbane eye on the electorate particularly the forthcoming bye-election in the largely working class South West constituency in the city.

No matter what reasons one may attribute to Dr. Fitzgerald's speech it is further evidence that the more aware of the current political leaders recognise that the tide of secular thinking is flowing more strongly now in Ireland than ever before.

Republicans holding the view that the fundamental principle of the Republic is the separation of Church and State are not alone in this view. Dr. Fitzgerald is a small piece of evidence to that effect.

MAY DAY

May Day is celebrated throughout the world as a workers' festival, a holiday for those whose toil recreates society daily.

Unfortunately in Ireland the working class has little to celebrate. 180,000 of their class are unemployed, rejected by the total failure of the present economic system to utilise their skills in the productive process.

When the parades have ended and the speeches ceased to echo it is this fact alone which confronts workers, whether on the shop floor, farm or at the computer. Unemployment and the threat of it are built into capitalism.

May Day is a demonstration of solidarity by all those who recognise that the system must be changed in the interests of those who create wealth, in other words, to a socialist society. This is the long term goal.

In the meantime workers must defend their living standards, existing jobs and pursue a policy which demands from the Government that our resources are taken into public ownership.

Marches and demonstrations are undoubtedly important. They awaken consciousness, but it is vital that the demands of the Irish working class are kept to the fore at all times through political action.

The Northern Ireland Convener of the Union of Students in Ireland Mr. Peter Davies, issued the following statement last month after Mr. Cooney's extravagant attack on the Union.

The recent remarks by the 26 County Minister for Justice, Mr. Patrick Cooney, about the Union of Students in Ireland have met with strong opposition from student leaders in Northern Ireland.

Representatives of the Students Unions of Queens University, Belfast, St. Marys and St. Josephs College of Education have condemned Mr. Cooney's statement as a hysterical invective against a democratic union whose only 'crime' has been to consistently advocate improved income and conditions for its members and to concern itself with social inequality and injustice in our society.

This responsible and constructive attitude of USI has been particularly evident in Northern Ireland, where the Union has tirelessly worked to overcome sectarian violence and repression and to secure fundamental human rights and adequate socio-economic conditions for all.

Mr. Cooney's slanderous remarks will make this task even more difficult in the coming months. To imply that a union such as USI is subversive is arrant nonsense and, more seriously, will serve to strengthen those bigoted and sinister elements who have a vested interest in maintaining the traditional divisions in the six counties.

Moreover Mr. Cooney's scaremongering language has put individual USI members at considerable personal risk in the North. One is entitled to expect a more objective and sensitive approach from the Justice Minister.

T.U. rally on unemployment

A major Trade Union Conference is planned for Dublin on Saturday, May 15, 1976. The sponsors of the Conference, entitled "Economy and Unemployment" include Sen. M. Mullen, General Secretary, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Noel Harris, A.S.T.M.S. and Matt Merrigan, A.T.G.W.U. General Secretary.

The urgency of such a rally cannot be denied and as the sponsors state there has been a continuing deterioration of the economy and the growth of unemployment on a mass scale which has not provoked an adequate economic response from the Government.

With over 120,000 on the dole in the 26 Counties the Trade Union Movement must certainly engage in the pursuit of policies not only to arrest this figure but to create the jobs necessary to reverse the trend.

Participants at the mid-May conference are almost certain to raise the question yet again of current Government policy on minerals, gas and oil. It is likely also that the highly controversial issues of an oil refinery and a smelter will feature on the agenda.

Senator Mullen who is known to have strong views on an "Irish pound" will be pushing for a full re-appraisal of the Irish banking system, including the link with sterling.

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S. W. Dublin bye-election

The Dublin South West bye-election brought about by the death of Noel Lemass, Fianna Fail is likely to prove a testing ground for the Coalition's economic and political policies.

This constituency is probably the largest working class area in the country and demonstrated this in the 1973 general election when they returned as one of their four choices Dr. John O'Connell with 9,865 first preference votes.

However, there is a serious possibility that Labour would poll no way near this figure in the bye-election as many observers feel that O'Connell has a large personal following and the Labour Party have no candidate at the moment with the same pull.

Fine Gael have as yet announced no prospective candidate although they are sure to be in the field, while Fianna Fail are certain to choose Eileen Lemass, widow of Noel Lemass, and member of Dublin Corporation.

The question facing the left is obviously difficult and there are sure to be pressures on Sinn Féin to enter the conflict. Many voters alive to the economic issues would certainly welcome the opportunity to demonstrate their disapproval of the disastrous policies of the Coalition and a strong Sinn Féin candidate could attract considerable support.

There is little point in saying that the Movement should have all types of service unless an effort to provide money to supply the accommodation to house them is forthcoming immediately. And unless the response, particularly from each cumann and club and indeed each Comhairle Ceantair and Regional Executive, in proves vastly this talk will never be turned into action.

The guiding principles of our organisation are education, agitation and organisation. Our headquarters must be a centre for education, agitation and organisation to live up to its potential. The Head-Office must be more than simply the head-office of Sinn Féin in Dublin. It must be the powerhouse of national revolutionary activity, co-ordinating, evaluating and directing all the many facets of political activity, throughout the whole country.

We need our own print house, which now at an advanced stage of planning, large lecture halls, meeting rooms, and of course a greatly expanded UI bookshop.

But all such development will remain only a pipe dream unless the money is provided. Cumann, Republican Club individuals can make the dreams real if they put their shoulders to the wheel. THE HEADQUARTERS FUND should be on the Agenda for EVERY cumann and club meeting. Remember the only thing we cannot print is money and for that we rely on you — the members and supporters of the Movement.

Bord Failte refuses grant

Bord Failte, in exercising its grant encouragement function in the promotion of international conferences to Ireland, pursues a policy of discrimination against Sinn Fein. This is the only conclusion possible from the frustrating experience which the International Affairs Department of Sinn Fein has suf-

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Having decided to hold an Anti-Imperialist Festival in Dublin in July Sinn Fein wrote to Bord Failte inquiring what grants or concessions would be made available for a festival attracting several hundred visitors to Ireland from many parts of the world. Bord Failte replied promptly stating that the Bord had discontinued the giving of grants to international conferences held in the high tourist season.

Sinn Fein feel that the total treatment accorded the Bureau amounts to a conscious determination to deprive it of grant-aids freely available to other organisations dealing with international conferences. It is also a blow to Bord Failte's own function in maximising tourist inflow and the resulting benefits to the Irish economy.

The Anti-Imperialist Festival is well advanced in its planning and will take place between July 19 and 30 as planned. Experts in their field will address the hundreds of delegates expected on all aspects of political life in Ireland.

S.D.L.P. show colours

"Within Northern Ireland there exists an energy and dynamic hitherto relatively untapped for self-help community and industry co-operative development which would contribute more to the psychological well being of local communities than any other possible injection" ... Hugh Logue, S.D.L.P., April 13th, 1976.

"There is no way that self-help schemes, as such as have been suggested recently can create employment... there is no way that self-help schemes which at best can only be complementary to Government intervention, can cancel out the closures at large factories like Rolls Royce, S.T.C. Sydenham Naval Yard and the possible loss of jobs at Queens Island."

Two days after the attack on Hugh Logue came only 24 hours after his call for the establishment of a "Community Industry Federation" as a solution to the North's worst employment figures in 36 years.

In bold print in Belfast morning newspapers Devlin retorted "facile", "peripheral" and "just plain bunk" leaving Mr. Logue embarrassed and the party faithful confused.

Correcting his colleagues industrial strategy is nothing new to Devlin. Ivan Cooper has never forgiven Paddy for his rejection last year of Cooper's Close the Shipyard Plan.

The "Community Industry Federation" idea was turned with a vicious attack on public sector industry.

"Any economy so reliant on public unproductive employment... is inherently unstable" and "it is not sufficient to leave the economic future of our people to public bodies..."

There is no doubt that the Logue Industrial Plan was the well published attack by leading Ireland industrialist Sir Frederick Catherwood on "shop floor power". In this statement Sir Fred, called for a counter to trade union strength by the establishment of smaller industrial plants to break up what he called the large concentrations of organised labour.

The "small is beautiful" speech by arch-enemy Catherwood is directly complementary to Logue's Community industry plan. Together they represent the Right Wing

Limerick College debate

The President of the Union of Students in Ireland, David Kavanagh, has called on all politicians in the Mid-West Region "to unite in the interests of providing a just and equitable solution in which Limerick National Institute for Higher Education students find themselves".

That situation relates to 72 students who will be sitting their examinations in six weeks time and so far no provision whatsoever has been made for awarding them a satisfactory degree.

USI claim that degrees have only been offered to some students; secondly, and this would appear to be a serious mark of infirmity, they will not be graded in the honours category, a fact which affects their job opportunities. Finally USI accuse University College Cork of undermining the "new approach NIHE" was developing to

education."

Basically the students argument which clearly has substance to it is that the Minister of Education, Mr. Burke, in conjunction with the Universities is imposing "the most of the NIHE courses".

The Limerick debate is only the tip of the iceberg and as relationships deteriorate between the Universities, anxious to guard their academic standards and the rest of the third level, it is the unfortunate student who is bound to suffer, both in the short and long term.

Apart from proposed cut-backs in education, unsatisfactory staff-student ratios, Mr. Burke has failed miserably to satisfy any section of the consumer-producer element in Education. And the third level will prove to be his greatest headache.

DISPLAY OF WOMEN'S INTERESTS



AT BELFAST REPUBLICAN RE-UNION

Pictured at the Annual Easter re-union Belfast, April 20, (from left) — Rebecca McGlade, Pat Brown, Geraldine McQuillen, Maureen McMillen, Mary McMillen and Theresa McCann. Not the usual sort of fashion parade.

National Wolfe Tone Commemoration

BODENSTOWN

Sunday, June 20, 1976

ASSEMBLE SALLINS 2.30p.m.

Chair person: M.de Bura
Speaker: D. O'Hagan
Chief Marshal: M. O'Riain

All Sinn Fein Cumainn are requested to carry banners. Trade Union branches, housing groups welcome.

Perverted justice from the N.I. Bench

IN 1973, a research study entitled "Justice in N. Ireland", sponsored by the London-based Cobden Trust, (and supported by both the NCCL and the Westminster Parliamentary Civil Liberties Group) stated that after monitoring over 500 cases in the N. Ireland courts, they had found clear evidence of a "substantial degree of discrimination", against the Northern minority by the judiciary.

The authors, (one a lecturer in law at Queens University, Belfast, the other a social administration lecturer at the New University of Ulster), further stated that "a clear sectarian bias", was demonstrated in police attitudes in court, and suggested that "a clear sectarian bias", was demonstrated in police attitudes in court, and suggested that one reason for the lack of confidence in Northern courts was "the failure to deal effectively with the numerous allegations against the Security Forces." The findings of that study have never been effectively challenged, despite the protestations of both the "Northern Ireland office" and the R.U.C. themselves.

Last month, some of the findings of the Cobden Trust document were used by a Republican Club delegation giving evidence before a hearing of the Feather Commission on Human Rights. Arguing the urgent necessity for a Bill of Rights in the North, (which was recommended by the Cobden Trust Document), the delegates stated that a crucial element of the failure

of confidence in the entire system in the North was the grossly biased political connections of the judiciary, while on a wider level, the constitutional inadequacies of the judicial system had failed totally to act as an effective guarantee of civil liberties, at a time when such a guarantee was vitally needed.

Stating that accepted constitutional law in N. Ireland was clearly inadequate, the Republican Club members maintained that only an entrenched Bill of Rights in N. Ireland, defining and defending liberties clearly, could put an end to the daily infringements of human rights in the North, and create the environment in which democratic standards could be established.

But clearly, while there are many other political and social aspects to the Bill of Rights question, unless the introduction of such a Bill is accompanied by a thorough-going purge of the Northern judiciary, whose notorious biases are catalogued in the continuing biographical series below, the abuses of democratic standards and justice will continue in the North.

JONES

The Right Honourable Sir Edward Warburton Jones has been an Appeal Judge since 1973 before which he had served in the High Court since 1968. Jones was educated at the R.B.A.L.I., followed by Queens University, Belfast. Jones was called to the bar in 1938, and subsequently he served as Junior Crown Counsel for Down in 1939. During the war, Jones served with the Royal Irish Fusiliers and left with the honorary rank of Lieutenant Colonel in 1946.

From 1945-55, Col. Jones served as Crown Counsel for Belfast. In 1951, he was elected M.P. for Derry city, and served until 1965. From 1964 until 1968, he was Unionist Attorney General for N. Ireland, after which he entered the High Court.

Jones has a long record as a biased Unionist and Orangeman. In 1950, speaking at an Orange Commemoration on the 12th July he said: "Ulster is at the moment being assailed by a most insidious campaign of propaganda, and we must be prepared for its growth and intensification. To defeat it we must have a plan, and I commend the value of acts and deeds in preference to words". Speaking to a meeting of the Mid Armagh Unionist Association in 1957, Jones stated: "We have been handed the six counties of N. Ireland, largely Unionist and largely Protestant and that is what we want and are going to fight for".

On the 3rd Feb. 1958, he said "What our leaders told us was the price of our position and freedom was eternal vigilance... For our protection we are entitled to see that the people in this country who hold important positions are loyalists". In the same month, speaking to the Middle Liberties Unionist Association in Derry, he stated that "if anybody said that only Loyalists... a Loyalist of whatever denomination had the right to be employed, that was a perfectly reasonable proposition".

A good example of his discriminatory attitude in the present situation was a report of one day's work in Jord Justice Jones court. Two senior members of a Loyalist paramilitary organisation admitted carrying more than 300 rounds of ammunition in a car in Belfast at a time when sectarian killings were a nightly occurrence in the city. Their defence counsel said that "they were actively involved in social work", and that their activities in the organisation were "of a non-violent nature".

Jones gave them a suspended sentence of two years, and they walked out of court. The very next case involved an 18 year old youth from Newry, who had been beaten by the RUC until he admitted to being a member of the "IRA". He also said that he had once acted as a look-out when guns were being removed. Stating that the "IRA" was an organisation that is polluting the country", Jones sentenced the youth to five years' imprisonment.

GIBSON

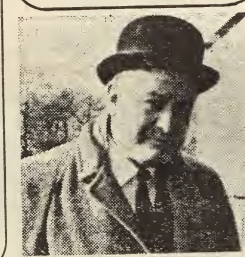
Sir Maurice Gibson has been an appeal judge since 1975, before that he had been a High Court judge since 1968. He too was educated at the R.B.A.L.I., followed by Queens University, Belfast. Gibson was called to the bar in 1938, and has demonstrated outright bias in a series of decisions while on the bench.

On the 16th May 1975, in the CUSACK case, where Seamus Cusack, an unnamed Derry civilian, was shot dead by a British soldier in 1971, Gibson stated in the High Court that the dead man was "on the balance of probability unnamed" when shot. He further stated that the soldier was not reasonably justified in believing that Cusack was armed, but then concluded that Cusack's negligence was equal to that of the soldier, for allegedly participating in a riot when shot.

The inevitable conclusion is that Gibson favours in substituting the death penalty for the normal six month sentence for riotous behaviour. No action was taken against the soldier.

In the McKenna torture case, where 3 RUC men and a soldier were charged with inflicting grievous bodily harm on P. McKenna, a political detainee in Cookstown RUC station, in giving judgment, Gibson admitted that McKenna had received a savage beating and severe ill-treatment while in the police station. He said that "this was a state of affairs which is utterly reprehensible and cannot be tolerated".

He then said "I don't suppose anyone will ever know the truth of the matter", and found all the accused not guilty, despite the evidence. In other cases, Gibson has acquired a reputation for sharp distinctions between arms-cases involving Loyalists and non-sentencing, taking the view that the Loyalists are "defending the country".



● Sir Edward Warburton-Jones.

TOPPING

The Right Honourable Walter William Buchanan Topping, a former British Army Colonel is currently Belfast "Recorder" and Antrim County Court Judge. Topping was born in 1906, and educated at Rosal School and Queens University. Having been called to the Bar in 1930, Topping was elected Unionist Chief Whip, and in 1956 he was made Minister of Home Affairs.

Menace

As an Orangeman, Topping has never been distinguished by discretion in his public remarks from the start of his career. Speaking at Drough, Co. Antrim in 1948, he stated that "In every Protestant district in N.I., a fighting fund similar to that in Derry should be set up to combat the menace of Roman Catholic infiltration."

The Protestant religion had two great enemies. Firstly the R.C. Church seeks to impose their religion on Protestant's secondly Communists seek to take religion away from Protestants.

At Stormont on the 6th June 1951, Topping stated (of the Nationalist opposition) "If their objective is to obtain jobs and houses in order to get, not co-operation, but control of this country, they will not succeed". Referring to the B-Specials on June 16th 1959, Topping stated "I have never known a better, more disciplined or more respectable body of men, and I am proud to be associated with them". As Minister of Home Affairs in the same year, he said "We are determined that we will not give up our principles for the sake of peace. That we shall never do".

Bias

Topping's record on the Bench leaves no doubt as to his bias. In dealing with an appeal by Frank Gogarty, the C.R. Executive member charged with "using insulting and abusive language", to British soldiers, and originally sentenced to six months in prison, Topping not only upheld the sentence but also increased it by binding Gogarty over for two years. In fact, Topping's hard-line bias reached such a peak that in 1971, members of the Opposition in Stormont Parliament called on the Government to remove Topping from his position as Recorder of Belfast because of their "concern over the present administration of the judicial system in N. Ireland."

KELLY

Basil Kelly was appointed a High Court judge in 1973. Previously he had been a Unionist M.P. and Attorney General for NI, having been elected for Mid-Down to Stormont in 1964. Kelly was educated at Methodist College, Belfast and Trinity College, Dublin. For a period he served as senior Crown Counsel for Fermanagh, then in 1968, he became Unionist Attorney General and thus had the role of senior legal expert in the Unionist Government during the whole upsurge of the Civil Rights Movement in the late sixties.

With Robert Porter, the Unionist Minister of Home Affairs, Kelly thought up the idea of a mandatory prison-sentence for rioting in 1970, of which he himself said, in an admission that must be unique... "Inevitably harsh cases will arise as a result of this Bill, perhaps even wrong convictions on the basis of mistaken evidence". In fact the ruthlessness of the Act and the consequent chaos caused guaranteed its repeal.



One year later in Stormont, members of the Opposition tabled a motion of censure of Kelly, complaining that he was politically biased in carrying out his job as A.G. in ordering court prosecutions. The same members also called on the Government to remove Judge Topping because of their concern "over the administration of the judicial system in N. Ireland."

On the 15th March 1974, Kelly preside over the trial of Corporal Foxford, who shot 1 year old Kevin Healey dead in Newry in 1972. Kelly found the soldier guilty and sentenced him to three years. (This should be compared with sentences of 15 years and 12 years imposed on the same court on two 20 year-old Republicans accused of attempting to murder a soldier who had not even been wounded. Sentencing Foxford, Kelly expressed his sympathy with British soldiers and what he had to endure. "You have suffered all this," the Judge said to Foxford, "with cheerfulness, dignity and restraint." Foxford was later freed on bail pending an appeal, in which, not unexpectedly, he was found not guilty, despite the facts, by Lords Lowry, Curran and Jones.

State sponsored Building Industry demand for North Housing finance

Britain's "Fair Rents" strategy

The Housing Finance Act of 1972, introduced in Britain by the Tories, established the concept of a "fair rent". In practice a fair rent is a rent which goes up and up and up. The Act was in fact an unsuccessful attempt to deal with the complex problem of housing finance.

It introduced a new system of housing subsidies; amended the law about rents and provided for rent rebates and allowances. The Act was severely criticised by tenant's associations in Britain because it drastically increased their rents. Tenants often paid more in rents than they would have had to had they been making mortgage repayments on the same property.

The administration of the Rent Rebate Scheme involved the imposition of a Means Test - Britain's 44th! Tenants were also concerned that such a large proportion of local authority rents were going to meet heavy interest charges and the profits of private building companies. The Bill also dramatically increased the price of land.

The introduction of the "fair rents" strategy into Northern Ireland produced a similar outcry from community groups which has led to the blocking of roads, public protests and the withholding of the rent increases in particular areas of Belfast. The rent on Housing Executive houses was first increased by 40p on the 7th April 1975 and by another 50p on the 1st April 1976. The current rent of a modern three bedroom house in Northern Ireland is £3.90p which compares very favourably with its equivalent in Edinburgh which is £8.65p per week!

The campaign has been spearheaded by the Greater West Belfast Community Association and the North-West Federation of Tenants Associations. Both groups have produced small booklets detailing their concern as to why public housing is needed in Northern Ireland. Both want a rent freeze pending a public inquiry on the subject. The conservative newspaper, the Belfast Telegraph, referred sarcastically to the withholding of rent increases as an attempt by pressure groups to the other side of the political divide ... to change the whole U.K. system of housing finance, through payment of rent, regardless of the hardships incurred.

However, the campaign attracts wide political support. ... into political parties and paramilitary groups affected deep concern on the issue. Austin Corrie the DUP spokesman oddly enough stated that

housing one day would be completely free of charge - a pious statement. In spite of the fact that the rent increases are a further attack on the depressed living standards of working class people in the North, it cannot be denied that there remains a deep ignorance on the part of many, about the financing of public housing in Northern Ireland.

The £90,000 house - Fact or Fiction

The major slogan in the tenant's associations armoury has been that it costs the Housing Executive £90,000 to build a house and pay the interest rates on it. If this figure were to be translated into a weekly rent it would be £33 per week. This figure is seemingly unbelievable but is strictly correct. It is the total sum of money paid by the Housing Executive over sixty year period on loans secured by the Government from banks and finance houses at punishing interest rates.

Who benefits from these exorbitant interest rates? It is the banks from which in a capitalist society the government must borrow its money. This is a simple example of capitalist economics and has been well documented in Sinn Féin's document on 'The Banks'. Slogans and bombs cannot change unpalatable facts. The change this enormous waste of taxpayers money will necessitate a revolutionary change of society.

What Northern Ireland needs is a clearly defined housing policy based on democratic socialist principles. The brutal fact of the matter is that NO government - Labour, Conservative or Unionist in the past century has had a consistent housing policy. This has led to homelessness with massive overcrowding, and thousands of families living in squalid housing conditions.

The question of housing finance is a difficult topic to unravel. For the past few years a major inquiry has been going on in Britain on this matter. ... when he was ... the fact that it would go ...

Housing Executive

Rent Rebate Scheme



beyond "a housing policy of ad hoc'ery and crisis management and find out precisely what needs to be done if we are to get on top of this desperate social problem once and for all."

The membership of the advisory group to oversee the housing finance review includes Professor Barry Cullingworth, director of Glasgow Planning Exchange; Mr. Frank Layfield Q.C. Chairman of the inquiry into local government finance generally; and Mr. Harry Simpson, ex-N.I.H.E. and now housing controller for the Greater London Council. The urgent need for a fresh approach to housing finance in all sectors, which would produce a reasonable, sensible and fair system to meet the cost implications of rising standards and ensure that housing aid was distributed where it was most needed has been recognised for several years in Britain. A similar inquiry is long overdue in Northern Ireland where housing conditions are among the worst in Europe. Thus the Republican Clubs welcome the demands of the tenants' associations for a public inquiry into the financing of public housing.

RENTS - ECONOMIC or SOCIAL

The following table illustrates how the rent of the Housing Executive home in Figure (1) was worked out:

£	
Loan charges at 16.8 %	1,400
Repairs and Management	52
Total Annual Outlay	1,452
Less Subsidy Current	780
Net Annual Outlay	672

Weekly Rent (52 weeks)	£12.85p
Add 4% contingency	52p
Computed Rent	13.39p
Standard Rent	3.70p

From this table it is clear that the biggest outlay per year on this house is the loan charge at 16.8 per cent. The effect of the government subsidy of £780 on this house is to reduce the economic rent from £28, approx. to £13.39 per week. The actual rent charged on this house was £3.70p per week. This means that even with the initial government subsidy the Housing Executive was losing approximately £10 per week on this house.

At the end of the year this deficit too is met by the government. As Mr. Jack Brown, Financial Director of the Housing Executive has stated, "Housing Executive tenants are only asked to pay £4 to £5 a week in rent out of the economic rent. Half is paid by government subsidies and if there is any deficit it is paid by the government."

Where does the government subsidies come from? They come from the taxpayer. Thus the banks are filling their coffers with the hard earned money of the taxpayer simply and solely because the state is a capitalist society must borrow money at high interest rates.

Rents alone cannot pay for public housing. We believe that housing must become a social service since bad housing leads to increasing social expenditure in the fields of health, social services, and education. For this to be the case some other means of financing public housing must be found. We believe that the only real solution to this problem is the nationalisation of the banks and the establishment of a Housing Executive Development Bank.

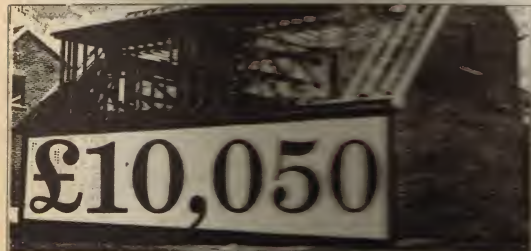
Cost of a home in 1975

PRIVATE

Painting	£ 225
Joinery	800
and	1,350
Glazing	100
Plumbing	340
Electrical	170
Plastering	520
Tile	300
Roof joists	700
Brickwork	1,000
Foundations	400
Ground	650
Services laid on	1,800
Other	100
Profit	2,000
£10,435	
Less subsidy	385
£10,050	

PUBLIC

Buildings	£ 5,700
Ancillary Works	700
Engineering Works	690
Other Capital Works	—
TOTAL	7,090
Add 7 1/2% contingency	530
Add Land Fees, etc.	840
Total Capital Cost	£8,660





EXTRACT FROM THE EASTER STATEMENT FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.

"The sixtieth anniversary of the 1916 Rising is marked not by the secularism, socialism or egalitarianism preached by the signatories of the proclamation of the Republic but by an almost unprecedented wave of sectarianism and materialism.

"The perpetrators range from those who callously murder innocents while claiming to be in some way associated with the Republicanism of 1916, to the same British Army faced by the men of 1916, to those Irishmen in positions of power in the South who would wish, but have not yet the courage, to officially obliterate the names and the teachings of Connolly and Pearse from our national life.

"It is ten years since the Golden Jubilee Anniversary of the Rising stimulated a widespread study of the motives and ideals which inspired the Rising, and, an examination of developments since that august event. As a result, many, for the first time, realised the true nature of the movement and recognised it as a

"The movement which was sought to be destroyed by the British Empire. The movement which began anew. The movement of Ireland, the winning of equal rights and opportunities, religious and civil liberties, the cherishing of all the children of the nation equally, all were recognised as desirable aims urgently to be sought after.

"The campaigns of the late sixties were the result. People united behind the banner of Civil Rights in the North. Growing numbers took up the cause of the jobless and the homeless in the South. Tone's men and women of no property were on the march again. The naked sectarianism of Unionist rule in the North was threatened, the more subtle sectarianism of the Southern ruling class came under stress.

"Predictably the fangs of the Unionist sectarian reptile were released in the North. But what was not generally predictable was that from the South a sectarian reptile of another hue would be released and nurtured by an establishment which very wisely saw that the Movement for equality and justice would not be confined to the North and would eventually threaten them and the Anglo-American interests which they represented.

"The result is well known. The release of the 'Provisional monster' shattered the unity

of the people, killed, crippled and maimed thousands, was used as justification for the use of military repression against those who were marching peacefully for justice, was used as an excuse for the erosion of human rights North and South, and indeed in Britain, diverted attention from the economic sell-out of the Nation.

"The wise men in London, Belfast and Dublin knew what they were at — one sectarian monster would feed upon the other and the result, they hoped, would be the total destruction of the struggle of the people. But they have not been totally successful. The struggle has been shattered, it has not been destroyed.

"In all the turmoil the Republican Movement stood firm. British bullets, Provisional Alliance bullets, Loyalist bullets, ultra-left bullets took their toll but the anti-sectarian voice of Republicanism was not silenced.

"The justification and reward for our perseverance is becoming daily more apparent. The quest for peace in the North today has, as we have advocated, been taken up by the people who have most to gain from peace — the working people organised in the trade unions.

"The search for jobs and housing is the search for peace. The search for peace is the search for jobs and housing. The search for jobs and housing is the search for peace. The search for peace is the search for jobs and housing.

"Our perseverance in propagating Republicanism has also had its results in the South.

"The parties who have controlled the 26 Counties since its foundation, and their policies, are now being seen for what they are — props to maintain a system of privilege and exploitation. Clear Republican alternatives are being propagated, increasing attention is being paid to them by a public who have had enough of their old discredited ways.

"We look to the future with confidence. Our policies will continue to be propagated fearlessly and honestly. Our commitment is unshakably to the Republic proclaimed in Easter Week, 1916. The ideals of that Proclamation are those of the Secular, Socialist Republic towards which we strive.

"We believe that the people of this country share our desire for such a Republic. Growing numbers realise that this country has sufficient natural wealth to guarantee prosperity for all in such a Republic. We see our task as alerting them to the realisation that the organised power of their intellect and their numbers can bring that Republic into being."



- BELFAST: Parade Colour Party.
- NEWRY: The Flanna Eireann contingent.
- DUBLIN: Sinn Féin — The Worker's Party.
- The Cork Volunteer Band leads the way.
- BELFAST — the people with most to gain.

EASTER 1976

Sean O Clonnaith, member of Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle, speaking in South Down.

"... Northern Ireland has been turned into a huge laboratory for its Army, police and intelligence services to practise against the rising threat of the British democracy. We in Ireland are the guinea pigs of the last and most perverted experiment of the British Empire which Ireland's example has done so much to overturn. While condemning every act of barbarity from whatever source we recognise that it is Britain which presides over the machine of sectarian slaughter in our community and which refuses to dismantle that machine despite the civil rights campaign of the past years.

Michael O Riain, member of the Comhairle of Sinn Féin, speaking at Ard Co. Tyrone, Easter Sunday.

"... This imperialist grip we have put out is one which knows no border. In a country: it will only be loosened by a people fighting for a common goal. Those have taken the disastrous shortcut of diverted attention from this fact as they from the denial of Civil Rights, increased repression, the sellout of resources and the effects of the economic crisis. Britain and her imperial allies continue to rule and exploit as Irish men, women and children are slaughtered in the interest of one brand of sectarianism or another — we all suffer economic hardship.

"We seek to alert the people to the deeper economic crisis North and South and organise them in a united campaign for peace. We seek to educate the people to awareness of the wealth guaranteed by discovery of resources such as oil, gas, minerals, to convince them that this wealth belongs to them.



Sean Garland, National Organiser, Sinn Féin speaking in Belfast.

"The Republican Movement emphasises that there must be no distinction no differences in rights or opportunities and no divisions between Protestant and Catholic workers.

"We are not to be dissuaded from that view, it is realistic. It is honest and it is sensible. But not only that it is the only view which can succeed, in solving the problems of our times.

"I say to 'Protestant workers whatever our opinions of British and Irish ruling class politicians we are at one in being suspicious of their intentions, we are also at one in striving for a working class resolution to our problems.

"Our slogan of Peace, Work and Class Politics which is catching the imagination of Irish workers is the only recipe for progress. It is the basis of the fight against sectarianism and the struggle for peace among the people.

"Without peace there can be no real fight against unemployment which now stands at 50,000 in the North alone. Republicanism has the answers to both problems of both political and economic violence. For we do not preach a doctrine of violence but a recipe for the elimination of the causes of violence.

Kevin Smyth, Member of Sinn Féin Ard Chomhairle and Secretary Six County Executive of Republican Clubs, speaking in DUBLIN (Easter Sunday).

"If ever Republicans could boast of the correctness of their policies is today in relation to Northern Ireland. From the outset we maintained that the solution to the problems of the North could not be found by back room dealing between sectarian parties. The old nationalist party had been engaged in such dealings with the old Unionist party for 50 years. Their deals had not ended bigotry, sectarianism and discrimination.

"The new deals worked out between the new nationalists and the new unionists did not, as we predicted, bring any solution. The S.D.L.F. sold out on the only realistic progressive policy for N.I. — the introduction of civil rights. The road to power for them was the Civil Rights Movement but when they got to power they worked out a new sectarian deal and called it 'power-sharing'.

"At the roots of the civil rights struggle is an unremitting unequivocal opposition to sectarianism. Sectarianism is the enemy to democracy and the Civil Rights campaign is aimed at destroying that enemy.

Speaking in Cork on Easter Sunday, Malachy McGurran, Vice-president of the Sinn Féin Executive of the United Irishmen's Republican Clubs: "We come here today, sixty years after the Easter Rising of 1916, not in any empty commemorative ceremony, but to the future in proclaiming the democratic content of the Easter message."

Today the Republican message continues to find its way to that message in the face of all adversity, and despite the most vicious attacks from the enemies of the Republic and the enemies of the people, the message that we, the legitimate successors of the people's struggle of Connolly and the men of '16 wish to send to the people of Ireland is:

Despite those who perverted the non-sectarian message and democratic values of the Easter Rising, despite those who have perverted the message of the Republic by murdering and maiming our Protestant and Catholic fellow workers in the North, we in the Republican Clubs and Sinn Féin will continue to fight for the peace and the freedom of all the people of Ireland. Pearse and Connolly died for.

Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Fein, speaking at the Easter Commemoration in Armagh, Monday 19th April, 1976.

Ten years ago we celebrated the 50th Anniversary of the Easter 1916 Rising. That occasion marked a new reawakening of Irish political life. The young people of 1966 gained a new insight into the meaning of Republicanism and realised the sham and hypocrisy of Irish politics during the previous 50 years. The workers saw the greatness of the Connolly and the relevance of his message and the whole pace of left wing politics in Ireland began to quicken. The remainder of the 60's were years of progress and years of great hope for the Irish people.

"Today we commemorate the 60th Anniversary of Easter Week. We are ten years further on in time but 20 years further back in politics. The counter-revolutionary campaign of the Fianna Fail Provisional Alliance has done nothing to force us to make any concessions. It has only made us more determined to continue our struggle for the complete overthrow of the present regime and the establishment of a new order of peace to beat them into submission and entrench themselves in power."

"Both regimes need the 'threat to security' provided by the sectarian forces of Loyalists and Provisionals. If they didn't exist they would have to invent some other threat to divert attention from the grave economic

Speaking at an Easter Commemoration organised by the Republican Clubs at Lurgan, Co. Armagh, on Easter Monday, Malrín de Búrca. Ard Rúnaí Sinn Féin said:

"It is a fact of history that the men of 1916 chose to surrender, and in surrendering gave knowingly to their deaths, because, appalled at the indifference of the British forces to civilian casualties, they believed their surrender would save innocent lives. They could have held out longer, they could have razed Dublin to the ground behind them, they could have destroyed homes and workshops and beautiful buildings for the personal satisfaction of holding out to the end."

But though prepared to die themselves they did not demand this sacrifice of innocent people. Not for them the proxy bomb that

To save Dublin and its citizens they walked out to certain death and did so gladly. By what possible perversion of the word Republican do our latter-day Provisional murderers claim kinship with such highly minded but practical patriotism.

crisis which is steadily eroding workers living standards and creating ever longer unemployment queues.

"At a time when workers need to unite as never before to protect themselves from the greatest economic onslaught ever unleashed upon them the so-called followers of Wolfe Tone are setting them at each other's throats and deliberately trying to engineer a civil war. At a time of massive unemployment and daily factory closures and lay offs the so-called followers of Connolly are bombing or burning the factories that are still operating and putting more workers out of jobs.

It is time the organised workers asserted their authority in the

It is time the organised workers asserted their authority in the North. The field is now open to them.

the Third Union movement campaign for a Better Life For All. But workers who are not yet in the labor movement must take a determined stand against the Labor and Farmall members and assassins. Such a move would take great courage but it could pay tremendous dividends in uniting workers for the major economic battles which lie ahead.

Now that almost all other major political issues have become largely irrelevant the demand for a Bill of Rights should take the centre of the

A black and white photograph showing a large crowd of people. In the foreground, a man in a dark suit and tie is looking down. To his right, a large drum is visible. In the background, many people are standing and walking, some looking towards the camera. The scene appears to be outdoors, possibly at a public event or rally.

political stage. It was this demand for equal rights and equal opportunities for all citizens which brought thousands of people on the streets in the late 1960's. It was this appeal which got such widespread support both in Ireland and internationally that the Stormont and Westminster Governments were forced to bow to the peoples' demands.

"It was only the intervention of the sectarian bombers and assassins which saved the British Government and broke the solidarity of the peoples' campaign for Civil Rights. The politicians who later formed the SDLP rode to political power on the Civil Rights bandwagon and then abandoned it.

"We cannot rely on either the Westminster or Dublin Governments to protect the interests of Irish workers.

Industrialisation

It is obvious that workers throughout Ireland must fight for every industry, must fight for every contract, must fight for every job. The greatest potential for industrialisation of the country and the creation of thousands of new jobs lies in the development, refining and use for further production in Ireland of our mineral, oil and gas resources. Through an Economic Development Council for all of Ireland, workers could carry out a joint campaign to ensure this is done.

"It is becoming harder work, but

to workers in Northern Ireland that English rule in Ireland is against their interest. It is also clear to them that the fascist sectarian forces of both Loyalists and Provisionals are against workers' interests. Sectarianism is Britain's greatest ally and Irish workers' greatest enemy. It is clear therefore that the Provisionals by fomenting sectarianism are assisting English rule in Ireland while claiming to oppose it!"

EASTER 1976

Mr. Eamonn Smullen, SINN FEIN Ard Chomhairle, Speaking at Limerick, EASTERN SUNDAY.

"The most important political question facing Ireland today is the question of mass unemployment. It is here more than in any other part of our national life that the breakdown of the present system can be seen.

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We as a party believe that the State should spend the taxpayers money setting up industrial enterprises which are state owned and controlled and managed. We as a party believe that the present State companies should close and return our resources and build the national government for all citizens. We as a party believe that the way to the new world is to build a new world.

1997, p. 100; see also 1998, p. 100).



EASTER 1976

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O'Leary under fire

The Minister for Labour, Mr. Michael O'Leary has thought of yet another plan to delay concrete action on women's rights. He has set up a "public agency" to eliminate discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity.

The Minister contends that it will take more than legislation to guarantee women an equal place in society. It will indeed but legislation would make a welcome starting point, said the Sinn Féin National Women's Committee last month.

The proposed agency will not be operational until next year and then there will be hearings, and sittings and court injunctions and unfortunate women could be dead before their wrongs have been righted.

What is to prevent Government Ministers from getting together now to pass emergency legislation outlawing all forms of discrimination? The Minister for Social Welfare could start with equalising unemployment assistance for both sexes, the Minister for Justice could abolish actions for Criminal Conversation, the Minister for Health could provide immediate family planning services for all women, the Minister for Education could end discrimination in educational opportunities and Mr. O'Leary himself

has the opportunity to end discrimination in the whole area of employment. None of this need take any longer than a month given the will to do it.

If the Minister for Labour is really determined to end discrimination against women, which we believe, he is not, then he would, as a matter of urgency, implement existing



● Michael O'Leary — anything but action.

legislation and introduce new legislation. Telling women that legislation is not enough is rather like telling a hungry man that you would give him a slice of bread but it would not cure his condition. Give us the bread and then worry about our general condition.

Mairin de Burca,
Sinn Féin National Women's Committee.

Family planning rights

Sinn Féin deplores the decision of the Irish Medical Association, taken at their conference in Kilkenny, that family planning services should not be provided by local Health Boards.

We believe that family planning information should be available to all on demand and that ideally this service should be provided by the family GP. It is, we believe, undesirable to have dual responsibility for patient care.

However as long as some doctors are unwilling to provide a family planning service then the local Health Boards must be responsible

for so doing.

Sinn Féin recognises the magnificent work done, against great odds by the Family Planning Clinics. These voluntary groups, should not, however, be asked to bear the brunt of such vitally important work.

They have proved that there is a great demand for such services and that demand must now be satisfied by the local Health Boards until a more enlightened and humane attitude prevails amongst doctors and in particular, members of the Irish Medical Association.

NATIONAL COLLECTION

The Sinn Féin National Collection for 1976 gets under-way later this month with collections throughout Kilkenny City and County during the week-end of the 28th, 29th and 30th. Collections will follow in ALL other areas, both North and South, during the coming months.

A special effort from every member and supporter to ensure that this year's is the most successful national collection to date, has been made by the Ard Comhairle.

When the National Collection is taken up in your area, make sure to play your part.

End terror and repression now

In a joint statement issued after the April meeting of the Tyrone Executive of Republican Clubs Councillors Frank McElroy, Carrickmore, Eugene Lyttle, Coalisland and Jim McQuaid, Donaghmore said that the continuing infringements on and the increasing denial of our human rights warrants the immediate introduction of a comprehensive Bill of Rights.

The statement continued "Virtually all the political parties in the six counties have said that they believe that a Bill of Rights is necessary but they differ in the type of Bill they believe is required. The Unionists and their ilk seek a Bill which will guarantee the minimum democratic rights. What we demand is a Bill, such as that proposed by N.I.C.R.A., which will guarantee the maximum amount of democratic rights.

"The Bill we envisage would guarantee (a) a person's freedom to belong to any political party and to be active in promoting the aims of that party, (b) that the forces of the Crown would be made answerable to the people for their behaviour. This could be done by the setting up of a completely independent body made up of representatives of the whole community which could investigate any complaints made against the forces of the Crown and which would have the power to reprimand anybody found guilty of misbehaviour, (c) the continuation of P.R. as the most democratic method of voting because it ensures a wider representation of views especially from minority groups in our community and (d) that a person charged with an offence would be presumed innocent until proven guilty

and not the opposite as is the case at the moment under the Emergency Provisions Act where the onus is on the accused to prove his or her innocence."

The statement from the Councillors continued, "This Bill would put an end to (a) repressive legislation such as the Emergency Provisions Act under which the forces of the Crown harass the working class people of the six counties by means of house searches and interrogations, (b) torture and beatings and the possibility of internment being re-introduced, and (c) discrimination in employment or the allocation of housing on grounds of religion, politics, sex, race or colour."

In conclusion the statement from the Councillors said "The fact that practically all the political parties in the six counties have agreed that a Bill of Rights is necessary seems to have escaped the British Government as they established a Standing Advisory Commission to investigate if one is really necessary." Surely the tax payers money would be put to better use if this Commission would get down to discussing with all interested parties, what should be in such a Bill of Rights."



**Sinn
Fein
Platform**



• Republican Clubs Councillor Frank McElroy.



• Belfast's Albert Street—an example of why a State building industry is needed.

State building industry needed

Kevin Smith, a member of Sinn Féin Ard Comhairle strongly condemned the continuing decline in house production in N. Ireland and called for the setting up of a state-sponsored building industry.

He made this call following the publication of housing statistics for the last quarter of 1975 which was issued by the Department of the Environment. These figures reveal that the production of homes was down by more than 1,000 units compared with the previous year.

Mr. Smith called for the establishment of a state-sponsored building industry to supplement the work of private contractors which at the moment is stretched to the limit building a mere 9,000 houses per year. The new 5 year plan of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive is to build 30,000 to 40,000 homes between 1976 and 1980 and leading spokesmen for the building industry have warned already that they will not be able to complete this number of houses. Therefore, a new initiative is needed to raise the production of homes to the minimum accepted level of 20,000 units per year.

The advantages of the State stepping into the gap at this moment are enormous, Mr. Smith continued. It would alleviate the present chronic level of unemployment in the building industry where one in three building workers is unemployed.

A State-sponsored building industry would offer year round employment. By removing the uncertainty of employment, it would stop the flow of men away from the building industry. By operating on a province-wide basis, it would benefit from economies of scale by efficient planning and the most efficient distribution of labour and materials.

A state-sponsored building industry would also be able to concentrate resources in those areas in which need rather than demand is greater. But most important of all at this moment of financial cut-backs a state-sponsored industry would ensure good quality public housing at the keenest cost to the tax-payer.

In N. Ireland today and particularly in West Belfast thousands of families and

newly married couples are being deprived of their most basic human right - Shelter. There is no hope for them in the declining figures in the Department of the Environment.

Mr. Rees must be well aware by now that N. Ireland is a disaster area in the provision and maintenance of homes. The families in the lengthening waiting list are desperate for homes, jobs and a decent standard of living. Yet all they see are the squabbling compromises of the Department of Environment with sectarian District Councils both over the Poleglass housing development and now the Mullaghlin development at Dungannon.

The establishment of a state-sponsored building industry would rationalize an inefficient industry bedeviled by small contractors. By involving his administration in such an enterprise Mr. Rees would be giving it the opportunity to involve itself in working in constructive working-class politics rather than the sterile parlaying with the para-militaries which has characterized his term of office.

Clear Europe's worst slum call

Belfast Councillor Bernie McDonagh has met with representatives of the Development Department of the N.I. Housing Executive and the local Tenants' Association and submitted a phased planning programme for the replacement of the Westrock aluminium bungalows which would not involve any tenant having to leave the area to permit development plans to proceed.

The Regional Architect and Surveyor

have inspected the proposed phase 1 site and are confident that 14 houses can be built.

A survey on the size of family units currently residing there has also been presented to allow the planners to assess accurately housing need and size of units of homes required in the programme.

The Belfast Executive of Republican Clubs welcome the interest and enthusiasm

of all Departments of the Housing Executive concerned in having this area redeveloped and said the only difficulty now to be overcome lies at the Department of Housing.

They asked for maximum unity of all residents and groups in the area to ensure that this final obstacle can be overcome quickly and that work can begin within the next few months on one of the worst areas of slum housing in Western Europe.

Down under

The annual general meeting of the Irish Republican Clubs of Australia was held in the Trades Hall, Sydney, Australia during March. John McGee, was elected Chairman, Alan Lytton, Vice Chairman; Pat Gorman, Secretary P.R.O.; Fergus Russell, Education Officer and John Flavin and Alan Lytton: Treasurers.

Anyone wishing to join or help the Irish Republican Clubs of Australia New Zealand should write to: Patrick Gorman, 11 28 Simpson Street, Bondi 2026, Sydney, NSW, Australia.

The Green Cross Organisation which functioned as a fund raising body in Australia for the dependents of all Irish Political Prisoners in Ireland and Britain did not in any way support or maintain any group other than the Provisionals.

Cabhair is the organisation that maintains the families of the Republican Movement. The Cabhair Committee's address in Ireland is 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

Any Australian or New Zealander supporter of The Republican Movement wishing to help the families of its political prisoners should contact CABHAIR c/o John McGee, 6, Railway Road, Marayong, Sydney, 2148, AUSTRALIA.



JOIN THE
REPUBLICAN
MOVEMENT

"Where ever there is conflict between the masses and the interests of the ruling few, between capital and the value of human life, the Republican Movement will take its stand with the people, to educate, organise, agitate and fight so that the people may go forward in dignity and consciousness to the final success . . . ownership of their resources, control of their destinies." (Liam McMillan, Bodentown, 1973)

For further information write to:
Sinn Féin Headquarters, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

or to one of the following addresses.

Belfast: P. Kilcullen, Kilmore.

Belfast: Republican Club, 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast 12.

Bray: D. Tobin, 77 O'Byrne Road.

Cork: Thomas Ashe Hall, Fr. Matthew Quay.

Derry: 28 Great James's Street.

Drogheda: Foresters' Hall, North Quay.

Galway: 5, New Docks.

Kerry: Brendan Mac Gearailt, Ballyferrier.

Limerick: F. Reynolds, c/o 19 New Road, Kileely.

Newry: 1 Trevor Hill.

Britain: Clann na hEireann, 173/175 Lozells Road, Lozells,

Birmingham 19.

USA & Canada: Irish Republican Clubs, 37-76 64th Street,

Woodside, New York 11377.

I Wish to Join the Sinn Féin Party

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Gluaiseacht naisiunta gluaiseacht chearta na Gaeltachta

Níl fath ar bith go mbeadh Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta ag casaoid faoi phoiblíocht o RTE le deireannal. Fuair siad a ndóthain, agus e tuille acu ar ndoigh mar ta siad tareis celm mhor a ghlaicint un tosaigh agus se Iomas O Domhnaill is bun chuis leis in aindeoin fein.

E fein agus a chuid geasíocht le Udaras na Gaeltachta. Na ga dom mar sin tracht a scríobh ar an chruinniú i gCois Fharraige (Cheap Tuairascail sa Times an rud ceanna!) ach go díreach tracht ar na cupla rud a ba mhó a chuaigh i bhfeidhm orm fein le linn an chruinnithe.

(a) Aontacht iomlan na mbail faoi an bhun aidhm gearr thearmach — Udaras ceart.

(b) Diogras na mbail gníomhaíocht anois leis an Udaras a bhaint amach.

Ba lear an da rud sin go hlontach solleir o "shean stoc" na Gaeltachta ach bhí cupla geall i lathair nar de shean-stoc na Gaeltachta iad agus bhfeard sa "teach mor" iad. Níor eigh leo an chruinniú a chuir amu ach deirigh leo mar a dúirt "sean lead" as Cois Fharraige liom fein "fonn muise" a chuir ar mhoran daoini.

Níl me a radh anois go raibh iomlan na "strainseirí" seo mar sin. Ní raibh agus ta fhios acu-san ce air a bhfuil me ag caint. Ta siad lonaithe ar na cuini is fuide amuigh de thriantán a cheanglofadh Cill Chiarán, Baile Ghib agus Gaith Dobhair.

Ach ní fiú a bheith ag caint níos mo orthu agus ta suil agam go dtabharfar cís na ton do bhitha amach as nGluaiseacht gan mholú sul a mbeith siad clontach as an

chuid eile againn a bheith "bailligh soir" no imithe go dtí an "Teach Mor".

Cuinnim agus feicim gobhfuil an coiste thar a bheith gníomhach cheanna fein agus ta suil agam le picead ar Ardán Phort an Iarla roimh dheireadh na Bealtaine. Beidh se de dhualgas ar gach gluaiseacht sa tír a mhaoinn Gaelachas de sheort ar bith a bheith i lathair agus tabhairt le taispeant don Aire go bhfuil Eileamh Naisiunta ar Udaras na Gaeltachta.

Ní doigh liom fein gur leor picead ann fein, ba choir deanamh mar a rinne na míleinn i Hume St. — na h-oifigi a ghabhail agus an aoid a choineal i mbeal an phobail ar an doigh sin.

Cnífidh me tu ann a leitheoir agus bhfeidir go bhfuilidh sinn loistín na h-oiche o Tom saor in aisce!

Cuimhneachán Chathal Bui

An t-ádh is a bhí daoini ag ol, ceol agus ag caint le linn Eilge Ghoill i Ros Gollí bhí dream eile iartach ag comoradh "patrun na bpoitirí", Cathal Bui Mac Giolla Ghunna i nDomhnach Molghin i gCondae Muineachain.

Nocht siad leacht cuimhneachán ins an áit a cuireadh e agus is cuis aithis domh a radh gur bhíu le thar 2,000 duine theacht ansin le na n'omós a chuir in iúl don sarfhile daonna úd.

Da mbeadh Cathal Bui beo no in innimh a bheith i lathair i splanad, chuirfead se athas ar an oiread daoini a bheith ag baint suit as ol, ceol agus craic ach chífad se fosta nach bhfuil fagtha de Ghaeilgeoirí Domhnach Molghin 's a chomharsanacht ach cupla sean duine. Mar sin fein ní na daoini sin ach dha ghiun scolte on Ghaeilge agus ce go bhfuil an turas arais go Gaeltacht deacair níl se do-dheanta ar chor ar bith.

Rud a caineadh ins na cúlán seo go míne na an seort seiceachas ata go díreach faoi an

chraiceann i moran de lucht na Gaeilge agus an nos ata acu ar ocaidí poiblí sin a chuir in iúl — gur lonann Gaeltachas agus Caillteas.

Níor tharlalag seo i n Domhnach Molghin agus ce gur bhífeadh liom fein reiligian a fhagail amach as imeachtal den tseort go h-iomlan, ma bhíonn se ann biodh an tabhacht ceanna le gach dream.

Leigheadh Aifreann i nGaeilge agus bhí seirbhís Gaeilge ann fosta (lena linn leigh Cathal Mac Coim an Cheacht).

Taispeanadh scanann Sinn Fein se sin Coineadh Airt Uí Laoghaire, De Domhnaigh agus bhí na daoini antogtha leis (caillfidh se nach bhfuil an Ghaeilgeoir sa tír nach bhífeadh an scanann seo ar a laghad 3 uaire go nuige seo mar ta se a thaispeant ag gach feis no ocaid a dtéid tu ann).

Agus ar ndóiche ní bheadh feis no comoradh iomlan gan Comhaltas Ceoltóirí a bheith i mbun an cheol agus na rinne — rud a bhí dar ndoigh agus rinne siad an-job do.

SCÉAL
SCÉIL

Is beag duine i dTír Chonaill nar chuala tracht in am eigh ar chathair.

Comoradh i nGleann Cholmáille

an tír. a chroil briste. ar an doigh a treasach cuspóirí fad na h-áite.

Go gceannas a bheith a chéad go bhfeicimid cuspóirí fad na h-áite. Casca a chuir i gcríoch le iarnh laldir amháin, níor nairigh se an Phoblachtanachas ariamh tre

bheith cruallach no bheith pairteach

agus ní shíulfadh se orlach den bhothair leo suid, na Provos, ata ag nairiu ainm an Phoblachtanachas inniu.

Mar sin is brea liom a fheiceal gur tugadh omós do i gComoradh na Casca i nGleann Cholmáille i mbliana mar is caibideal onorach e fein agus a leitheid i Stair na Gluaiseachta. Le linn na h-oraide duradh "gur cuis broin duinn go gealthfidh muid a admhail nach bhfuil cuspóirí Eirí Amach na Casca bainte amach . . . agus ce gur chaill siad las siad teine nach muhtar go deo".

Daorsmácht

Duradh fosta ce go bhfuil ath-chuingi síothachana ag teacht o gach taobh ní raibh dream ar bith de lucht na n-athchuinge seo lonnraice go leor a n-aghaidh a thabhairt ar bhun fhadhb an Tuaisceart agus na tíre tre cheile, i.e. cumhacacht agus daorsmácht imphirulachas Shasana.

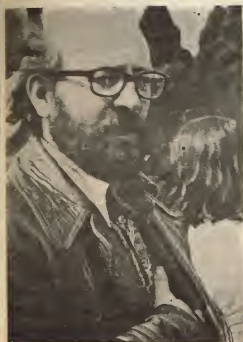
Leigh Padraig O Donnachadh Rolla Onor Laochraí Thír Chonaill. Bhí dha bhomaite tost ina n-omós agus ansin chuir Seán O hEinne a bhí i gceannas ar imeachtal na h-ocaide críoch fhoirmealta leis an chomoradh.

I nGaeilge amháin a cuireadh iomlan clar na h-ocaide i gcríoch agus dar ndoigh mar sin a ba choir do bheith sa Ghaeltacht.



Ard Fheis an Chonartha

Thionolfar Ard Fheis Chonaradh na Gaeilge ag tus na míosa seo — i mBaile Átha Cliath a bheidh se i mbliana. Is leir on gclár go mbéidh beim na hArd Fheise ar fhadhbanna lucht na Gaeilge agus na Gaeltachta



● Pádraig Ó Snodaigh Uachtarán an Chonartha.

agus ar easpa cearta na ndaoine seo arnhaoin.

Ardo tathar ann a chreideann agus a chreid i gceol gur mar sin

ba choir a bheith ag Conradh na Gaeilge — siad san an dream a raibh imir orthu le roinnt blianta anuas go raibh an eagraíocht ag eiri ro-pholaitiúil an t-am a raibh an cheannasaloct ag diúir ar fhadhbanna polaitiúla agus soisialta mhuintir na hÉireann uile — feachtas an Chomhargaidh mar shampla.

B'iad sin an dream a bhi a ionsaigh go príomhda ag Máirtín Ó Cadhain agus e ag caint ar Ghluaiseacht ar Strae agus b'iad siud na daoine a d'ionsaigh an Cadhnach fein nuair a chleacht se an meid a bhi a mholadh aige — agus b'shin gur coir do lucht na Gaeilge a bheith pairteach in agoid ar bith ar shon cearta na coismhuintire.

Ruin

Caineadh Ó Cadhain an trath sin toisc narbh iompár 'sibhialta' d'ollamh ollscoile a bhi ar siúl aige. Níor gheill seisean riamh do nosanna measula an mhean aicme.

Ach le fillleadh ar chlar na run ta ruin ann faoi Udaras ceart Gaeltachta, faoi dhroch staid ar stalsiún 'naisiunta' craolachain idir easpa cláracha Gaeilge agus líon na gcláracha eachtrannacha a chraolann RTE. Ta ruin ann ag caineadh beartas Richie faoin nGaeilge sa tséirbhís phoiblí agus faoin ndroch chaol a caitear le

daoine a dheineann iarracht a gcuid gnótha a dheanamh leis na seirbhísí poiblí sa chéad teanga oifigiúil.

Ta ruin eile ann faoi chursail oideachais, faoin leatrom a imirtear orthu siud a eilíonn oideachas tre



● Máirtín Ó Cadhain

Ghaeilge, agus faoi easpa teachsleabhair Ghaeilge. Abhar mor eadochais go mbíonn na ruin ceannainn ceanna ar an gclár bliain

i ndiaidh bliana. Pleifear iad ach is beag eile ar feidir a dheanamh futhu.

Aisteach go leor níl aon tracht sna ruin na sa chlar fein ar fhadhbanna na Tuaiscirt, ar fheachtas marfach na bProvos no ar an ngearradh siar ata deanta ar chearta an ghnathshaoranaigh in Éirinn thuaidh agus theas. Níl aon chaineadh ar an Acht um Chionta in Aghaidh an Stait, ar na Cuirteanna Speisialta, ar bhruidiúlacht na nGardaí.

Oifigeach

Agus ce go bhfuil tagairt ann do cheannacht earraí Éireannacha chun cuidiú le tionsclaíocht na tíre is beag ata ann do mhór-fhadhb na difhostaíochta no do choras eacnamaíochta na tíre i gcoitinne.

Moltar go gceafar oifigeach caidrimh lan-aimsearach na pairt aimsearach don Chonaradh, rud a b'fhiú go mor a dheanamh. Moltar freisin go mbunofaí oifig sa Cheann Aras ait a bhfeadfaí gearan a dheanamh faoi leatrom ar bith a h-imreofaí ar dhaoine maidir leis an nGaeilge sa tséirbhís phoiblí. D'fheadfaí an t-eolas a chlarú, agus staitistí a bhailiú.

Beimid ag faire na hArd Fheise agus beidh cuntas iomlán againn ar a himeachtaí an mhí seo chugainn.

Sceala andeas

Fe lathair ta ath-eagru a dheanamh ar Ghluaiseacht na gCeart i gCorca Dhuibhne le teacht leis an eagar-naisiunta ata a dheanamh. Ag an am cheanna ta feachtas sinuichain ar siúl ar fuaid na Gaeltachta sin lena leiriú dho Thomas Maols Ó Domhnaill cen t-eileamh ata ag muintir na Gaeltachta seo ar udaras daonlathach Gaeltachta.

Fe lathair ta ag eiri go maith leis an bhfeachtas agus ta go leor dho lucht Fine Gael a shliniu. Rud eile ata socair ag Flanna Fail aitiúil na go bhfuil siad le lan thacaloct a thabhairt don eileamh go mbunofaí 'Udaras Daonlathach. Fiu chuaidh FF chomh fada gur chuir siad ionadaí go dtí Conamara go dtí an t-ionol naisiunta do bhrupáil a bhi ag eileamh an daonlathais.

Mar sin ta se curtha siar ar Tom go bhfuil muintir Chorca Dhuibhne ag eileamh an daonlathais chomh maith le cach. Tugann san an t-eitheach do chuipá 'power-crazy mongers' ata i mBaile 'n Fhír-tearaigh. Gan dabht ní mor a thuiscint go bhfuil 'riff' san gceannasaloct ansd le tamall agus fiu iad sud ata fagtha níl siad ar aon fhocal fen Udaras.

Ach gan dabht ta sceal mor le radh againn libh fen mbainistíocht anas agus an ceangal a bhi acu le cas ard chuirte le deanaí. Seo capall rais a leim cupla clai na raibh aon gha lena leimeadh. Gan dabht leim cupla Asal na clathacha ceanna agus thiteadar isteach i bpóil caca. Deacair tarrac as a leitheid.

●●●

Ta an socru deanta ar deire agus to Erbel 'ceannaithe amach' ag Gaeltarra agus iad anois le fear Silver Seal a chur isteach ann agus a zít súid a thabhairt dos na hiascalrí. Ní ionadh go raibh go leor dos an hiascalrí a radh 'If you came in the High road you would be alright but if you were unfortunate to be from the town and not to have plenty of lolly — God help you' — agus is docha go raibh fuaimint lena chaint. Ar aon nos ta suil againn go n-eireoidh leis an an da d'ream agus is ndéire na dala go mbéidh rath eigin ar an iascuireacht sa Daingean.

●●●

Ta an da bhad a bhi a dtogaint sa bhad chlos ansd 70' and 80' curtha

go dtí closanna eile le críochnu. Ta ceann 60' a togaint ann fe lathair. Deineadh an t-aistriú mar go measadh na beadh aon deontas meaduithe le fallt ag an nDaingean.

Idir an da linn ta se tugtha go dtí ar n-air go bhfuil TD laidri gClarral leis sort 'blackmail' a imirt ar dhaoine ina dhallcheannair le ainm a anam-chara a shabailt. Beidh ana sport againn ag insint an sceil dhuit.

●●●

Bhi Bishop Casey timpeall Chorca Dhuibhne le deanaí ag oscailt teasbainteas i Scoil Dhun Chaoin. Bhi se suimiúil na feilmínigh a bhi i lathair — ta eadán tairbh ar dhaoine. Dala an sceil ní inniu na inne a fuair an teasbog ceim ar aghaidh — ta se anois ina chomhairleor spioradálta ag cupla ceannasaithe de chuid an Chomharchumainn ar an mBlaitín.

●●●

Ta aon bhad deag ag iascach amach o Bhaile na nGall i mbliana. Ta cuid dhe mhuintir na haite a radh go bhfuil na hEachtrannaigh ag baint a gcosa dhoibh agus ag baint a sli fein ag an gCe doibh.

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FASCISM AGAINST DEMOCRACY

The Irish Involvement

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR was one of the few international events to have any significant impact on Irish life in the Thirties. The conflict was represented in clear-cut Catholic versus Communist terms. That was how de Valera saw it too. His sympathies were on Franco's side and the policy of non-intervention adopted by his Government effectively aided the rebel generals.

The Hierarchy was joined by the national newspapers — with the exception of *The Irish Times* — in a hysterical campaign against the legitimate Government of Spain. As part of this campaign, the bishops made a national appeal for prayers: the violently pro-Franco Irish Independent regaled its readers with daily stories of alleged Republican atrocities.

Spurred on by the poison pens which twenty years previously had



● Gen. O'Duffy's blueshirt gangsters fleeing from Spain, June 22, 1937.

fought — and fell — in battles at Cordova, Las Rosas, Jarama, Brunete, Quinto, Teruel, in the crossing of the Ebro River and in the subsequent battles on the Sierra Pandols. They fought in the knowledge that they enjoyed the support of the mass of the Spanish people. "The people are 90 per cent against Franco", wrote Frank Ryan to a friend. "I've been among the peasants at villages. They have enough to eat for the first time in their lives... I've seen how Franco and his German and Italian masters 'Fight for the Faith'. The bodies of babies cluttered in a schoolyard after an air-raid, breadlines of women blown to bits, working-class houses razed."

The Irish anti-fascists suffered heavy casualties. Of a total of 133 volunteers, 63 gave their lives. Frank Ryan, taken prisoner in March 1938, died six years later, an involuntary guest in Nazi Germany.

In a farewell speech to the International Brigades, Dolores Ibarruri (La Passonaria) said: "You can go proudly. You are history. You are legend. You are the heroic example of democracy's solidarity and universality... We shall not forget you."

We, too, should not forget: the class which spawned Irish Fascism shows every sign of being "in heat" again.

SPAIN AT WAR

demanded the death of James Connolly, County Councils throughout the country passed resolutions of support for Franco. And from the lowest depths of reactionary Irish politics, the Fine Gael/Blueshirt axis came forth to give birth to the Irish Christian Front.

Under the guiding hand of Patrick Belton, TD, the Christian Front organised rallies at which clerical and lay rabble-rousers invoked the "wrath of God" against the Spanish Republic. Church collections raised £40,000, ostensibly to repair Catholic churches in Spain. The money was never used for any such purpose. Part of it was used to buy arms for the rebel forces; the balance went towards the purchase of premises in and around Dublin.

It was against this background of hysteria and reaction that the Blueshirt General, Eoin O'Duffy, began to recruit an "Irish Brigade" to fight in the "Holy War" against the Republic. "If only two men go to Spain," O'Duffy boasted, "I will be one of them." The former leader of Fine Gael had little difficulty in attracting over 700 would-be "crusaders" — many of them drawn from the ranks of the notorious Animal Gang.

O'Duffy and his motley crew set out for Spain amid scenes of religious ceremonial, to the strains of "Faith of Our Fathers". A more appropriate note was struck in a Dublin street-ballad, "O'Duffy's Ironsides":

"In old Dublin town my name is tarred
On pavement and slum wall.
In thousands on its Christian Front
The starving children call,
But with my gallant Ironsides

They call to us in vain,
For we're off to slaughter workers
In the sunny land of Spain."

On arrival in Spain, O'Duffy's "Ironsides" were welcomed by a community of Irish nuns. Each man was given scapulars and a rosary and told to "beat hell out of the Reds". Within a short time, however, O'Duffy's "Crusade" developed into a farce. His "Ironsides" divided their time between church-parades and drunken brawls. In their first military engagement, two of O'Duffy's men were killed by the opposing force — which turned out to be a platoon of Franco troops! Following several similar escapades, the "Ironsides" returned home, their military ardour — if not their military fervour — greatly diminished. Their tour of duty had lasted six months.

Irish unit

But Ireland was not totally disgraced. Despite the vitriolic hate campaign against Republican Spain, Irish anti-fascists stood their ground. Several committees were formed to aid the Republic. And in the face of violent threats, the delegates to the Irish Conference of the ATGWU in September 1936 unanimously approved their Union Executive's decision to grant £1,000 for humanitarian aid to the Spanish Government.

In the same month, the decision was taken to form the Irish unit of the International Brigade.

Republicans, trade unionists and

Communists united to fight Fascism in Spain just as they had done in Ireland. Some Irishmen were already in Spain, having travelled from Britain, America and Canada. In December 1936 they were joined by the first organised Irish group led by the Republican, Frank Ryan.

Solidarity

In a press statement issued prior to their departure for Spain, Ryan outlined the group's objectives: "The Irish contingent is a demonstration of revolutionary Ireland's solidarity with the gallant Spanish workers and peasants in their fight for freedom against Fascism. It aims to redeem Irish honour besmirched by the intervention of Irish Fascism on the side of the Spanish Fascist rebels. It is to aid the revolutionary movement in Ireland to defeat the Fascist menace at home and, finally, and not the least, to establish the closest fraternal bonds of kinship between the Republican democracies of Ireland and Spain."

In contrast to O'Duffy's departure for Spain, no "public men nor cheering crowds" bade farewell to the Irish International Brigaders. They left quietly, their unsung hymn the "Internationale". In Spain, they linked up with the anti-fascists of fifty-seven nations and, with them, gave concrete expression to the concept of proletarian internationalism.

Unlike the "O'Duffy Irish Brigade" the Irish anti-fascists were not shy of action. For two years they



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The United WORLD

BRETONS STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION PART OF WORLD-WIDE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Brittany is a peninsula, at the western tip of the European Continent, where some 3.5 million people, the Bretons, live. Their name and that of the country come from the ancient Bretons who had to leave Britain to flee the Saxon invasion (5th-6th centuries) and who brought their civilisation to the peninsula, which was then called "Armorica." This also accounts for the origin of the Breton language, a close relative to Welsh, that was once spoken over most of the country and is now restricted to its western 40 per cent where 500,000 people use it daily.

After being a kingdom, then an independent dukedom, the country was taken over by France in the 16th century. During the French Revolution Brittany was split into five 'departments', and lost any official existence.

The country, however, never became a normal part of the French Republic. Being under the rule of external economic centres, it missed the industrial revolution; a native capitalism never developed, and the Breton ruling classes were used by the French bourgeoisie as local agents to keep Brittany in a backward socio-economic state and to facilitate a colonial type exploitation. The Catholic Church contributed towards this task — and to some extent still does.

Unemployment

Today, Brittany has a mainly agricultural economy, exporting raw products, with an underdeveloped tertiary sector and an underdeveloped industry. One after another locally-owned plants are taken over and closed down by big monopolies. The country loses some 20,000 people per year through emigration; unemployment is 30 per cent higher than the French average. Some industrial plants, most of them small, do open up however, often for a few years. They come from elsewhere to exploit, through bad working conditions and low pay, the local difficulties of finding a job.

The country is also used for tourism and as a military stronghold, which contributes to reduce industrial development. The cultural specificity of the Bretons — still very strong even where the Breton language is no longer spoken — is ignored by the educational authorities and joked upon by the media, which contributes to maintain a colonial mentality.

Since the last century various forms of Breton nationalism have

developed. With some exceptions, the major trend among Breton nationalists was right-wing; some of them even allied to Nazism in the '40s in the hope of gaining independence for Breton from Hitler. The French left-wing, on the other hand has always tended to think,



● U.D.B. lead the struggle.



● Broken line: eastern limit of Breton language; A, 9th century; B, present. Department numbers: 29, Finistère; 22, Côtes du Nord; 56, Morbihan; 35, Ille & Vilaine; 44, Loire-Atlantique (the latter excluded by the gerrymandering of the "regionalisation" from the new official Brittany).

again with exceptions, that Breton specificity means catholic backwardness and must therefore disappear.

Then, in Brittany, came a generation of young people who, through the Algeria war question, struggled against French imperialism overseas; they saw that it's mechanisms and effects were akin to what happened in their own country, and this led in 1964 to the founding of the U.D.B. (Breton Democratic Union) a Breton Revolutionary party. The U.D.B. on the one hand, differs from the French left wing by thinking that the social emancipation of the people in Brittany cannot be achieved by wiping out Breton's national identity, on the other hand it differs from the right wing Breton movement by thinking that the Breton situation results from imperialism, a stage in capitalist development, and that the Breton struggle is therefore a form of anti-capitalist struggle and must rest upon a firm class basis.

The U.D.B. has a growing audience. The French left wing must now take it into account, while the

right wing Breton nationalists — only a handful — are increasingly isolated. Brittany is waking up; a majority of the youth refuse to leave to look for jobs elsewhere, a practise which their elders found normal; there is a strong renewal of interest in Breton culture, and Breton specificity is more and more apparent in social struggles. But there is still much to be done.

Class struggle

National and social liberation in one country are not isolated from the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle: the U.D.B. has accordingly developed wide international links. Together with Sinn Féin and other revolutionary organisations of subjected countries (Catalonia, Galicia, Wales, Basques) the U.D.B. is a party to the Brest Declaration, the purpose of which is to provide a common political basis and mutual solidarity in the anti-imperialist struggle within Europe. For the best way we can assist in the liberation of the peoples elsewhere is by destroying imperialism where we ourselves face it, at home.

International round-up

"An end to wars, peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence — such is our ideal" (Lenin Col. Works, vol. 21, p. 293)

A few hours after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, the first action by the young Soviet Republic was the proclamation to the peoples of all nations of the decree on peace. A call for an end to war and devastation that was taken up, not only by the Soviets, but by all those who cherished their freedom and independence throughout the world.

Since that historic decree nearly 50 years ago we have witnessed an immense upheaval in the world situation. Many tasks have faced all those concerned with freedom, democracy, national independence and social progress, yet uppermost in the struggle has been the fight for peace, and an end to war. During those 50 years the direction in which the world has developed is characterised by steady advances in the strength of the peace forces and a continued weakening of the warmongering forces of imperialism, fascism and reaction.

There is no doubt that the Helsinki conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the decisions agreed upon by the representatives of the 35 states attending the conference have given new impetus to the struggle for peace. The entire process of détente has been consolidated and a major set back has been experienced by the Cold War warriors.

Atomic ban

Although political détente is now reality, the arms race continues with much needed resources being used to produce weapons of mass destruction, rather than houses, hospitals, schools and other materials for the well-being of the people; ignorance is still rife among many sections of people with regard to the USA-USSR Strategic Arms Limitation Talks; proposals put at the U.N. by the USSR and others together with the blocking activities of the USA and certain capitalist powers at the Vienna talks on the reduction of arms and armed forces in central Europe are still not widely known.

The victory for peace and détente at Helsinki only came about due to the actions by peace loving governments coupled with the mass activities of the peoples of Europe. This combined action must continue to ensure the implementation of the Final Act, and to bring about an end to the arms race, culminating in world disarmament. In other words accomplishing political détente by military means.

Just over 25 years ago the World Peace Council was formed to unite peace loving forces throughout the world. Since its foundation it has been in the centre of the world wide struggle for peace. In 1950 it launched the "Stockholm Appeal". This Appeal which called for "an absolute ban of atomic weapons and weapons capable of mass extermination" was supported by more than 500 million signatures. Never before had world public opinion been more resounding. Many believe that this appeal prevented the use of atomic weapons in Korea, and certainly this together with other actions of the World Peace Council played a major role in achieving the present relaxation of tension and peaceful co-existence in Europe.

The World Peace Council has now launched a "new Stockholm Appeal" for general and complete disarmament, urging all governments, Parliaments, political parties, trades unions and mass organisations to join hands in a worldwide offensive for stopping the arms race and achieving general and complete disarmament. This new Appeal, coupled with other mass action by the people of all nations should serve to intensify the struggle of the peace forces, nationally and internationally in achieving mankind's noble goal of a just world without war.

PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Infamous

The Cudlapps are a famous Fleet Street journalistic family, Hugh was former editor of the Daily Mirror. Rumour has it that Cudlipp junior is operating in the business for the Northern Ireland Office.

Apparently, he failed to hit it off with the Sunday Times, where he worked with Alex Mitchell of the now defunct 'Workers' Press and so the old school tie network found him a safe haven in the PRO game in Belfast.

His official title is News Adviser but local nasties prefer to call it Black Propaganda out of Thepval Barracks where Mr. Cudlipp is reported to be a fervent pink gin man.

Still, with his "lordly" background who would drink bottles of stout?

Exposed

The March issue of Journalist, the monthly publication of the NUJ, reports on the cloak and dagger activities of correspondents working for that well-loved liberal newspaper, the Daily Telegraph.

Last December, they exposed John Draw as being "in fact Nguyen Ngoc Phat, an officer on the general staff of the Saigon Army" in South Vietnam.

Now they claim that the Telegraph's star correspondent, Bruce Loudon, was a PRO for the brutal Portuguese Caetano regime which massacred hundreds of Mozambique civilians in Africa. Interestingly enough, the London Financial Times dismissed him, he worked part-time for them also, when they heard of his activities.

Bit of a shock maybe for many journalists in England, but hardly likely to rock the propaganda scene in Ireland, especially when one realises that the editor of the Telegraph is William Deedes, Tory MP, who came to Long Kesh in 1971 and found nothing to startle him or complain about.

Katanga

Télévis Eireann's attitude to re-showing ten-year-old programmes has been clarified following a request from the Gaelic League that the 1964 Easter Commemoration programmes should be put out again.

In a very brief reply to what admittedly was a very brief request, Alasdair Ó Galachóir, Leas-Cheannas na gClár, snapped in Irish, "I can state with certainty that there is no intention of re-broadcasting programmes which where made ten years ago."

Viewers will undoubtedly be delighted with this information, particularly those unfortunate single channel types who are fed on a diet of geriatric Westerns and jingoistic British shorts.

Fair play to ye, O Galachóir (nee O'Brien of the Katanga).

Tradition

Mairin De Burca's Easter speech at Lurgan prompted the wife of a former 1916 veteran (deceased) to write congratulating her on her courageous and wonderful summing up of the Republican tradition.

Unfortunately, the letter cannot be published as the writer failed to sign her name and address, not necessarily for publication. She states that her husband's family (brother and father) were involved in the struggle from the Howth gun-running until the end of the Tan war and adds that the "deeds of the Provos will bring a blush of shame to our fair land".

The writer concludes by hoping that Ms De Burca's words will "do some good and bring peace to all North and South".

Chemical

Conservation, as any Community Councillor will tell you, is a "good thing". But it is a "good thing" the newspaper Clonmel have had too much of. It has already cost them 230 jobs and they are determined it will not cost them any more.

Following a public meeting called by South Tipperary County Council, the 23 objectors to a pharmaceutical industry in the town face total boycott by the people of Clonmel. It was stated on behalf of the Council that the project would provide 472 jobs in a highly sophisticated and technical industry. In addition, over 1,000 jobs would be provided for one and a half years in the construction of the plant.

The first stage of the project, involving 230 jobs, was redirected to Puerto Rico because of delays caused by the objectors. Planning permission for the second and third stages of the industry has been granted by the Minister for Local Government. The objectors are now threatening High Court proceedings against that decision despite an earlier commitment to abide by it.

There is growing support for a boycott of the objectors. Fine Gael representatives however, have said that they "will not condone any action that would militate against people availing of their constitutional rights". Have they never heard of the right to work?

Printed and Published by Clonmel Eireann, 30, Plas Gardnar, B.A.C. 1.



● 26 Cos. Minister for Justice Patrick Cooney (at right) preparing for the big clean up of 'subversives' — i.e. homeless, trade unionists, unemployed, students etc.

Cooney attacks C. Rights

ON Thursday, April 1, Patrick Cooney, Justice Minister for the 26-County Government, made an ominous speech — ominous not just for Sinn Féin, at whom it was aimed, but for everyone in this country who believes in freedom of speech, thought and political expression. Considering the date, it would be nice to think he was joking, but, unfortunately, he was in grim earnest.

After attacking the "Marxist-inspired Sinn Féin" for "exploiting areas of discontent" such as the homeless and small farmers, Cooney declared that the government's first duty was to strengthen its laws and administrative procedures, and went on to warn: "There might have to be a derogation from the laws protecting the freedom of the individual". He spoke of "searches, security checks, curfews, etc.", which would "necessarily impinge on the convenience of the ordinary citizen".

If you are one of the ordinary citizens whose 'convenience' might be impinged on, we suggest you think very carefully about the implications of this speech (and if you want a sample of the inconvenience involved, take a shopping trip to Belfast, although even there they don't have a curfew). When a government Minister starts threatening the ordinary citizens of his own country, that shows fear. We shall go on to discuss just what is feared, and why. But first it is necessary to nail a lie.

Peace

That lie is the alleged "violence" of Sinn Féin. Sinn Féin is a constitutionally-registered political party which works peacefully and lawfully for its democratically-decided and openly-stated political programme. Sinn Féin does not advocate or condone violence of any sort, and particularly condemns the vicious campaigns of sectarian violence and murder which continue in the Northern six counties of this island.

Sinn Féin does not want, or need, political violence anywhere in our country — on the contrary, Sinn Féin needs peace and time to explain its policies and programme, and to help working people, North and South, to organise themselves in constructive ways to deal with the ruinous economic and social crisis which faces them.

Peace, Work and Class Politics is Sinn Féin's policy, and Cooney knows it. "One thousand five hundred people dead and thousands maimed are grisly evidence of the price that ruthless people are prepared to exact", said Cooney, and he's right. But who are these ruthless people? Certainly not the men and women of the Republican Movement who have desparately worked and struggled and spoken — and sometimes paid with their lives — for doing it — against the senseless use of bomb and bullet and the insanity of sectarian intimidation, assassination, and counter-assassination.

Harassment

It is well-known that the Republican Clubs influenced the IRA to go on strike by force in 1972, ready to defend the people — all the people — only in the extreme event of an all-out attack by the forces of repression. This stand has been maintained with courage and determination in the face of every sort of provocation, harassment and in-

timidation, yet by a gross distortion of the facts, Cooney tries to imply that somehow the Republican Movement is responsible for the Northern carnage of the past four years.

It's interesting to note the Northern organisation Cooney singles out for attack. There are various groups on either side of the sectarian divide in the North which more or less openly advocate and carry out acts of violence and murder. Incredibly, it is the Civil Rights Association he chooses to condemn — a group which has always been unarmed, always condemned violence, and which came into being to demand 'one man one vote' — the most basic of the democratic rights 'Justice' Minister Cooney claims to be defending.

Fear

Significantly, the CR Movement is one of the very few groupings which managed to unite people from both Northern communities — and this is the real reason for the attack on it, and not any trumped-up charges of engaging in political violence — charges which anyone who knows anything about the North would dismiss out of hand.

So what fear causes these lies, distortions and threats to the ordinary citizen from a government Minister? Simply, it is fear of an idea. That idea is Socialism.

Right now you are reading a Socialist paper, so the chances are that you're already a Socialist. But if you are one of the 'ordinary citizens' threatened in Cooney's speech, chances are that you're not even sure what Socialism means (and that's no accident either). Well, if you're going to be threatened because of an idea, you might as well find out about it — just what is Socialism anyway?

Public ownership

Socialism is first and foremost about ownership, the ownership of wealth, of work and natural resources. In the Socialist Ireland which is coming, all the public wealth will belong to all the people of Ireland. There are many Socialist countries and societies in the world — from a small island like Cuba having roughly the same area and population as Ireland to a huge continental grouping like the USSR — each with their own distinctive features, but this public ownership and control of wealth is the constant factor which distinguishes them from the capitalist countries.

In Ireland now, 5% of the people own 75% of the wealth. You're probably to see that statistic before, so let's put it another way. Imagine you are one of a family of 20, brothers and sisters. Your parents are dead and all you have in the world is £20. How would you feel if one person proposed to take 15, leaving the remaining five to be divided among the other 19 in the family? Well, that's the capitalist system here in Ireland. Sean and Siobhán Citizen — you have been robbed.

No wonder there is fear — fear of the risen people — and that fear is growing, and will grow more, because capitalism is in crisis. The tiny capitalist class in whose interests this country is governed will not solve that crisis, because they cannot. They are economically, and politically — when you get right down to it — morally bankrupt.

No work

The dole queues are lengthening, the small farmers are being squeezed from their land, tens of thousands of young people are leaving school with no work, and no prospect of work — and nowhere to migrate together. The pound in your pocket is worth less every day: the food you eat and the clothes you wear and the rent or mortgage you must pay cost more every week. And the men who govern you — what is their answer to all of this? It is the classic capitalist answer — buy more guns and toughen the laws.

And let's look at those laws — laws which Cooney claims need strengthening, and which even then might have to be "derogated" from — in plain words, ignored. Something terrible is happening in Ireland — something the Blueshirts at their worst never came near achieving. Ireland is headed towards becoming the most Fascist country in Europe. There used to be Spain, Portugal and Greece a long way ahead of us, but now while these countries are becoming more liberal, we have enacted legislation — the Offences Against the State Act — which shames us before the world.

France would have been proud of this act under which people can be accused of membership of a 'subversive organisation', tried without a jury, and convicted on the unsubstantiated evidence of a Garda officer. In effect the Garda has only to say "I believe this person is guilty", and the "court" duly convicts. And these are the laws and administrative procedures which Cooney says must be strengthened, and which even then may need to be derogated from! It's hard to see how, short of executing people without trial. Perhaps that's what he has in mind.

Apathy

These vicious laws affect every Irish man and woman. Action to oppose all repressive legislation is needed now, before it is too late. It would be a terrible mistake for the 'ordinary citizens' — busy trying to make a living and rearing their families — to leave this worrying to Sinn Féin. Remember the heart-cry from Nazi Germany: "First they came for the Communists, and nobody did anything; then they came for the Liberals, and nobody did anything; then they came for the Jews, and nobody did anything; then they came for me, and there was nobody left to do anything".

Think about it, Sean and Siobhán Citizen. We're on your side. We need you on ours.